

A discoverie of the
treasons practised and attempted a-
gainst the Queenes Maiestie and
the Realme, by *Francis Throckmorton,* who was
for the same arraigned and condemned in
Guyld Hall, in the Citie of London, the
one and twentie day of May
last past.

1584.



A collection of the

most curious and

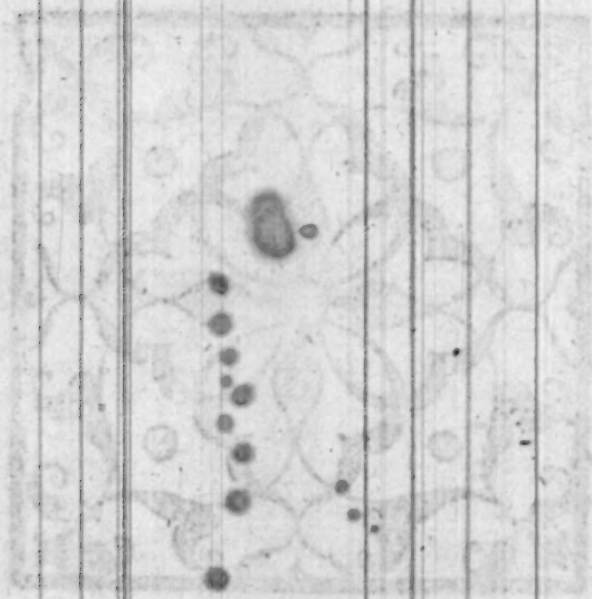
valuable

manuscripts

in the

possession of

1784.



To the Reader.



Here is in this short discourse deliuered vnto thee (gentle reader) a true report of the treasons and practises of *Francis Throckmorton*, & his cōplices against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme: which comming to my handes by chance from a gentleman, to whom it was sent into the Countrey, I haue presumed to cōmit the same to the print, to the ende that such as in opinion and conceite are not satisfied, touching the matters proued against him, and the course of proceeding helde with him, might by the sight thereof (if trueth and reason may perswade them) bee resolued of all such doubtles and scruple as haue risen by the variable reportes made of the qualitie of his offences, and the maner of dealing vsed towards him: for the better knowledge whereof, I referre thee to the declaration following, and so commit thee to God,

A letter sent from a gentleman of Lyons Inne

to his friend, concerning Francis Throckmorton, who was
arraigned and condemned of high Treason.



*Yr, with my last letters of the first of Iune, I sent vnto you in writing the arraignemēt of Francis Throckmorton, penned by a gentleman of good skill and credite, being present at the same: and because it hath seemed vnto me that there is some scruple in your conceite touching the sufficiencie of the euidece produced against him, I haue for your better satisfaction endeuoured to attaine to more particular knowledge thereof, and by the meanes of a secret friend, there is come vnto my hands, a verie perfect declaration, of the whole proceedings helde by such as were in commission for the examining of him before his triall, containing the materiall pointes of the treasons by him confessed, whereunto there is annexed a submission written by Francis Throckmorton to the *Queenes Maiestie*, the fourth of Iune, whereby he acknowledgeth that he hath vnruefully and vnduetifully denied his former confessions, & vnder his owne hand writing hath estsoones repeated and confessed the same confessions to be true (some fewe things onely detracted, but of no moment:) which may in mine opinion remooue all matter of doubt or scruple conceiued by you or by any other of his iust condemnation. You know howe well I haue alwayes loued the man, and delighted to conuerse with him in respect of the good partes wherewith he was indued, and of the pleasant humour that for the most part did possesse him when hee came in companie of friendes, yeelding at no time (to my seeing) any shew or suspitiō, to haue bene a dealer in matters of that qualitie: & therefore I cannot but pitie his misfortune the more, wishing all men to make profite of his fal, and to note, that miserie and calamitie of this kinde, doeth for the most part followe such as forget God, to whose protection I committe you,
From Lyons Inne, the 15 of Iune. 1584.*

Your assured friend. Q. Z.

A true and perfect declaration of the Treasons practi- sed and attempted by Francis Throcke- morton, late of London, against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme.




Hereas there haue bene very lewde and
flaunderous bruites and reportes giuen
out, of the due and orderly proceedings
held with *Francis Throckmorton* lately
arraigned and condemned of high trea-
son at the Guildhall in London the xxi.
day of May last, whereby such as are euill affected toward
her Maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue inde-
uoured falsely and iniuriously to charge her Maiestie and
her faithfull ministers with crueltye and iniustice vsed a-
gainst the said *Throckmorton* by extorting from him by
torture, such confessions as he hath made against himselfe,
and by inforcing the same to make them lawful euidence
to conuict him of the treasons therein specified: Albeit
her Maiesties subiects in general, calling to minde y^e milde
and temperate course she hath helde all the time of her
most happie Reigne, might rather impute her clemencie
and lenitie vsed towards all sortes of offenders to a kinde
of fault, then taxe her wth the contrarie: yet such as allowe
of practises and treasons against her Maiestie, do alwayes
interprete both of the one and of the other, according to
the particular affections that doe possesse them, that is,
to the worst. And forasmuch as the case of *Throckmorton*
at this time hath bene subiect to their sinister constructi-
ons, and considering that lies and false bruites cast abroad
are most commonly beleueed, vntil they be controlled by

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the trueth: it hath bene thought expedient in this short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consideration, a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said *Throckemorton* against her Maiestie & the Realme, by him confessed before his arraignment, whereby her Maiestie was iustly and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall. You shall likewise perceiue what course hath bene helde with him by her Commissioners to bring him to confesse the trueth: with what impudencie and how falsely he hath denied his sayings and confessions: And lastly, how by a new submission and confession of his said treasons sithens his condemnation, he endeuoureth to satisfie her Maiestie, and to shew the reasons that moued him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which may in reason satisfie, though not all, yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoysoned and infected with the lies and vntruthes alreadie spread and deliuered, in fauour of the traitor and his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehension grewe first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the Queenes Maiestie, that he was a priuie conueiour and receiuour of letters to and from the Scottish Queene, vpon which information neuerthelesse diuers moneths were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answere the matter, to the end there might some prooffe more apparant be had to charge him therewith directly: which shortly after fell out, and thereupon there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at Leuham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certaine gentlemen of no meane credite and reputation: of whom, two were sent to his house by Poules wharfe, where he was apprehended, and so by one of them conuayed presently away, the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c. which might giue prooffe of his suspected practises. 

In that search, there were found the two papers containing

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ning the names of certaine Catholique Noblemen and gentlemen, expressing the Hauens for landing of forraine forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned, the one written in the Secretarie hand, (which he at the Barre confessed to be his owne hand writing) and the other in the Romane hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shewe how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinatio^s he hath confessed them both to be his owne hand writing, and so they are in trueth. There were also found among other of his papers, twelue petidegrees of the discent of the Crowne of England, printed and published by the Bishop of Resse, in the defence of the pretended title of the Scottish Queene his Mistresse, with certaine infamous libelles against her Maiestie printed & published beyond the seas: which being found in the hands of a man so euill affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against her Maiestie, you wil iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehension, hee was examined by some of her Maiesties priuie counsell, how he came by the said two papers of the Hauens, and he most impudently denied with many protestations that he neuer sawe them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house: Notwithstanding being more earnestly pressed to confesse the trueth, he sayd they had bene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the Realme, named *Edward Rogers, alias Nuttie*, by whome they were written. And to make this deuice to carie some colour of trueth, after his committing to the Tower, hee found the meanes to get three Cardes, on the backside of which Cardes he wrote to his brother *George Throckmorton* to this effect: *I haue bene examined by whom the two papers, conteining the names of certaine Noblemen and gentlemen, and of Hauens &c. were written: and I haue allea-*

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ged them to haue bene written by Edward Nutteby my man, of whose hand writing you knowe them to be : Meaning by this deuice to haue had his brother cōfirme his falschode. These Cardes were intercepted, and thereby the suspicion before conceiued of his practises increased, whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bin fundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of her Maiesties most honorable priuie counsell, and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in very milde and charitable maner, to confesse the trueth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewray the depth of his practises: but no persuation preuailing, her Maiestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of her Royal person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of her learned counsel and others her faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assay by torture to drawe from him the trueth of the matters appearing so waightie as to concerne the inuading of the Realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerly done by way of persuation, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsually appointed in the Towre to handle the Racke, by whom he was layd vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of three daies following, he had recouered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking, which if it had then or any other time bene ministred vnto him with that violence that hee and his fauourers haue indeuoured slaunderously to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his limmes for manie yeeres. At this first time of torture, hee would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the trueth. The second time that hee was put to the Racke, before hee was strayned vp to any purpose, hee yeelded to confesse any thing
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hee knewe, in the matters obiected against him: whereupon he was loosed, and then the Commissioners proceeded with him according to such Interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them, which for the more breuitie shall here bee omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onely to discover vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said *Francis Throckemorton* as well before as sithens his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by her Maiesties Commissioners appointed to that seruice. And here you are to note, that when hee was first pressed to discover by whome the plottes of the Hauens were sette downe, and to what purpose, he began (without any further interrogation ministred) by way of an historicall narration, to declare that at his being at Spaw in the Countrie of *Liege* certaine yeres past, he entred into conference with one Ienney a notorious knowen Traitor, touching the altering of the state of the Realme here, & how the same might be attempted by forraine inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with *Sir Francis Englefield* in the low Countreys, who daily solicited the Spanish king in Spaine, & his Gouvernours in the said Countreyes, to attempt the inuading of the Realme, continued a course of practising against her Maiestie and the state, by letters betweene *Sir Francis Englefelde* and himselfe, vntill within these two yeres last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint *Sir Iohn Throckemorton* his late father with his traiterous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him fro any further meddling wth those practises.

He hath further confessed, y^e he vsed his Fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the Catholique Noblemen and Gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the Hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceiued and put in writing onely by view of the Mappe, and not by particular sight or suruey of the

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said Hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene *Sir Francis Englefield* and him, he was made acquainted by his brother *Thomas Throckemorton*, by letters & conference, and by *Thomas Morgan* by letters (two of the principall confederates and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottish Queene and her confederats in France and in other forreine partes, and also in Englande, for the inuading of the Realme.

That the *Duke of Guyse* should be the principal leader and executer of that inuasion.

That the *pretention* (which shoulde be publicquely notified) shoulde be to deliuer the Scottish Queene to libertie, and to procure euen by force from the Queenes Maiestie, a tolerance in religion for y pretended Catholiques: But the *intention*, (the bottome whereof shoulde not at y first be made knowen to all men) shoulde be vpon the Queenes Maiesties resistance, to remooue her Maiestie from her Crowne and state,

That the *Duke of Guyse* had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, money, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioine with the forraine forces, and a third thing, how to set the Scottish Queene at libertie without perill of her person.

For, y first thing wanting, *viz.* money, messengers were sent from forraine parts both to Rome & Spaine, & their returne daily expected to their liking: And the Spanish Ambassador to encourage the English to ioine both in purse and person, did giue out, that the King his Master would not onely make some notable attempt against Englande, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the seconde thing, *viz.* the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioine with the forraine forces, one especial messenger was sent ouer
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into England in August last, vnder a counterfaite name from the confederates in France, to signifie the platte and preparation there, and to sollicite the same here.

That *Thomas Throckmorton* his brother made him priue to his negotiation at his last being here in England, and that thereupon *Frauncis Throckmorton* tooke vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederats in Englande, with the helpe of the Spanish Ambassadour, whom he instructed howe and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie heere within the Realme, for that himselfe woulde not be seene to be a sounder of men, lest hee might be discovered, and so endanger himselfe & the enterprise, knowing that the Ambassadour being a publique person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

That the *Duke of Guyse* and other heads of the enterprise had refused some landing places, and made speciall choise of Suffex, and about Arundel in Suffex, both for the neere cutte from the parts of Fraunce, where the *Duke* did or best could assemble his force, and for the oportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

That hee, taking vpon him the pursuite of this course, shewed the whole plotte and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish Ambassador, who did incourage him therein, he promising, that if hee might haue respite vntill the next spring, the same should be done more exactly.

That at the time of *Thomas Throckmortons* being here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie might faile in the only hand of one man *Thomas Throckmorton*, there was also from the confederats sent ouer into Suffex, *Charles Paget*, vnder the name of *Mope*, alias *Spring*, and therof an aduertisement couertly sent to *Thomas Throckmorton*, both that Thomas might vnderstande it, and not be offended that another was ioyned with him in his labour.

That the Spanish Ambassadour by aduertisement from

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the confederates, was made priuie to this comming of *Charles Paget* vnder the name of *Mope*, and yet knowen to him to be *Charles Paget*.

That the said Ambassadour did according to his sayde aduertisements, knowe and affirme that *Charles Paget* was come ouer to view the hauens and Countrey for landing of such forraine forces about Arundell, and specially to sound and conferre with certaine principall persons for assistance.

The same Ambassadour also knewe and affirmed, that *Charles Paget* had accordingly done his message, and had spoken with some principall persons heere, according to his commission, and was returned.

Hee moreouer confessed that there was a deuise betweene the Spanish Ambassadour and him, howe such principall Recusants here within the Realme as were in the Commission of the peace in sundrie Counties, might vpon the first bruite of the landing of forraine forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authoritie and the defence of her Maiestie, leuie men, whome they might after ioyne to the forraine forces, and conuert them against her Maiestie.

In these fewe articles is briefly comprised the whole effect of his confessiō made at large without any Interrogatorie particularly ministred, other then vpon the two papers before mencioned, contayning the names of men & hauens. And heere you are to note that at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his priuitie vnto them, but onely an information and suspicion deliuered & conceiued of some practise betweene him and the Scottish Queene, as is before mentioned: For the discovering whereof, after he had bene fundrie times vpon his alleagaunce commanded to declare his doings in conueying and receyuing of letters to and from her, he did voluntarily confesse that hee had written diuers letters vnto her, and had conueyed many
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to and fro, betweene her & *Thomas Morgan* in France, by whose meanes he was first made knowē vnto her, & that he had receiued as many letters from her. Hee also declared the effect of his letters to her, & of hers to him: which letters betwene them were alwaies written in Cipher, and the Cipher with the Nullities and markes for names of Princes and Counsaillors, hee sent vnto the *Queenes Maiestie* written with his owne hand, Hee also deliuered the names of some, by whom hee conueyed his letters to the *Scottish Queene*, as by one *Godfrey Fulgeam*, who fled the *Realme* immediatly vpon *Throckmortons* apprehension, and one other person, whom he described by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man sithens apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same: the mans name is *William Ardington*.

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were at the time of his arraignment opened and dilated by her *Maiesties* Sergeant, Attorney, and Sollicitor generall at the barre, and therefore seeme not needfull to be repeated heere, yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient prooffe, that the matters contained in his said confessions, are neither false nor fayned (as *Francis Throckmorton* most impudently affirmed at his triall, alleadging that they were meere inuentions of himselfe by policie to auoyde the torture) they haue bene here inserted; to the ende you may the better iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circumstances folowing, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequently see the falsehood of the Traitor, the iust and honourable proceedings of her *Maiestie*, and the honest and loyall endeuours of her Ministers imployed in the discovering of the treasons.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spawe about the time by him mencioned, and had conference with *Jenney* in that place, and with *Sir Francis Englefield* in *Flaunders*, and that he hath written letters

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to Sir *Frauncis*, and receiued letters from him: for if he should denie the same, he were to be conuincd by good prooffe: for it hath bin noted in him by many of his countrey men English subiects, that both in those partes and in Fraunce, hee did continually associate him selfe with English Rebels and Fugitiues. If then you consider with whom he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you wil iudge of his conuersation accordingly: and it is to be supposed, that those men, knowen to be continuall practisers against the Queenes Maiestie and this Realme, from whence for their Treasons and vnnaturall demeanures they are worthily banished, will not in their conuenticles and meetings forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and howe they might be restored to their countrey, whereunto no desert in her Maiesties life time (which God long continue) can wel (without her Maiesties great mercie) restore them. Then I pray you what conferences might *M. Throckemorton* haue with Sir *Francis Englefield*, with *Ienney*, with *Liggons*, with *Owen*, and with such like, who were his daily companions in Fraunce and in the Lowe countreis? He hath written letters to Sir *Frauncis Englefield*: to what purposes? he haunted continually two Ambassadors in London, by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and from beyond the seas daily. To whom, and from whom? euen to and from *Thomas Morgan*, and *Thomas Throckemorton* at Paris, men knowen to her Maiestie and her Counsell, to be notorious practisers, very inward with the Duke of Guyse, and contriuers of the Treasons and deuises for the inuasion intended: and for very certaine knowledge thereof, we neede not be beholding to *Frauncis Throckemorton* onely, (although he hath said much of them) but to others of better credite then himselfe.

That the Duke of Guyse did vndertake the enterprise to inuade the Realme with a sorraine power, to be defrayed

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frayed by the Pope and King of Spaine (a part of *M. Throckmortons* confession) and he in trueth the first discoverer thereof to her Maiestie : if he will say that it was but inuention, it will approue false. For sithens he discovered the same, there haue bene diuers aduertisements thereof sent to her Maiestie from forraine Princes her Highnesse louing neighbours and Allies, as also by other good meanes and intelligences from her Ambassadors and seruants residing in other Countries.

If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of any such matter when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of trueth: for *Throcknorton* was neuer knownen to be a Prophet to foretell things *de futuro*.

He resorted often to the Spanish Ambassadour, at the least twice in a weeke when he was in London: this often repayre could not be to conferre with the Ambassadour for the exchange of money for his brother, as he pretended at his arraignment: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a Casket couered with greene veluet, very cunningly coueied out of his chamber by a maide seruant of the house, taken vp vnder a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber and vnknowing thereof) which Casket not long after his apprehension, was by one *Iohn Meredith* a follower of *Francis Throckmorton*, conueyed to the handes of the Spanish Ambassadour: and why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why shoulde not the Casket haue bene kept still at home? and if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish Ambassadour? It is to be conceiued, that this Casket was not conueyed thither without the direction of *Francis Throckmorton*, though caried by *Meredith*, who did well knowe of what moment the matters were that were within the Casket, and of what danger to *Throckmorton* if they had bene disclosed, and therefore

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meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readily be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the Casket, *Meredith* fledde: for in trueth he was priuie to the Treasons, and a fellowe practiser in them: to whom *Frauncis Throckemorton*, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to runne vp a staire to deface a letter which he was then in writing to the Scottish Queene in Cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart away presently out of his house, deliuered priuily into the hands of *Meredith*, either the Cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scottish Queene, or a letter in Cipher by him written vnto her: therefore he trusted *Meredith* as a man priuie to his doings. You are also to vnderstande, that *Throckemorton* was in very great feare of the discovering of this Casket after his apprehension: for remaying two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Towre, he was permitted to talke with a Sollicitor of his Lawe causes, who brought him certaine bookes drawen, or other like papers written, which hee made shewe to peruse, but that was not the matter why he sent for his Sollicitor: for in perusing y^e bookes, he conueyed into them a litle piece of paper, vpon y^e which he had written wth a cole, *I would faine knowe whether my Casket be safe*, or to the like effect. The Sollicitor departing from him, and resorting to *Throckemortons* house not farre distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this piece of paper, which he tooke vp and deliuered to one of *Frauncis Throckemortons* men, but the Casket was alreadie conueyed to the Spanish Ambassadour: whereby you will perceiue what care he had of the Casket, and howe much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the
Casket,

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Casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first, that euer he had any such Casket, but finding afterwards that the Casket was discovered, he confessed the Casket, and saide there were certaine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scottish Queene from *Thomas Morgan* at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed.

That *Charles Paget* came ouer into the Realme to euil purposes, as *Throckemorton* doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented: for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, *Paget* came ouer, in secrete and suspitious maner, staid not aboue xv. dayes, indeuoured in a sort to finde the disposition of *William Shelley* Esquier, how hee might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although *Paget* discovered not directly his traiterous intēts to *Shelley*: therefore all *Throckemortons* confessions were not forged or inuented.

But because the two papers produced at his arraignment, containing the description of the Hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparantly condemne him, & are a manifest argumēt of his priuity to the whole treasō, you may not forget y he acknowledged one of the papers written in the Secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denyed the other written in the Romane hande: In the which vnder the title of *Cheshire &c.* is said, *Vpon the landing of forraine Supplies, Chester shal be taken*: but what in your opiniōs might be vnderstoode by that sentence, *Chester shalbe taken*, when you shal compare y paper in Secretarie hand with y other writtē in the Romane hande, intituled, *The Names of Noblemen and gentlemen in euery Countie fitte to bee dealt withall in this matter.* (which in trueth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more enlarged.) The question is to bee asked, *What matter?* The answer followeth necessarilie, *To assist the forraine forces that shall come to invade the Realme*: for that there is an other title in that paper

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ouer the names of the hauens, &c. *Hauens in euery coast fitte for the landing of forces.* Now iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of Hauens, their entries, *Capacities*, what windes bring vnto them from Spaine, France and Flanders, were written and set downe by *Throckemorton*: the papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the Secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romanes.

Is it not likely thinke you, that he would acquaint the Spanish Ambassiadour with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partaker of the rest of his traiterous practises & deuices as you haue heard, & thought his Casket of treasons to be most safely committed to his hands? It may bee thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be partially affected to excuse the treasons.

And now to shew vnto you what mynd this man hath carried towards her Maiestie, you are to be informed that *Francis Throckemorton*, after he had discovered to her Maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in y^e bewraying thereof, sayd to some of the Commissioners vpon occasion of speach, *I woulde I had bene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare any of the matters by me confessed.* And being at other times sent vnto by her Maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons, hee vsed this argument to perswade her Maiestie that he had confessed all, saying that sithens hee had already brought himselfe by his confessions within y^e danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruine of his house and familie, hee wondered why there should be any conceite in her Maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to perswade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleue that hee could discover no more, at one time hee vsed these speeches following with great vehemencie: *None I haue disclosed the secrets of her who was the dearest thing vnto me in*
the

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the worlde (meaning the Scottish Queene) and whome I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue preiudiced as I haue done by my confessions, I see no cause why I should spare any one, if I could say ought against him: & sub I haue failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged. And when hee began first to confesse his treasons, which hee did most vnwillingly, after hee was entred into the declaration of them, before al the Commissioners, vpon aduise ment, hee desired hee might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onely, whereunto they yeelded, and thereupon remouing aside from the place where hee sate by the Racke, hee vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore*, that is, He that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation: Meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to bee a Traitor, and not to reueile the treasons, and then began to confesse as you haue heard.

By this discourse, contayning the principal heads of his treasons, and the proofes & circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vndutifull myndes & affections, will cleerely perceiue howe impudently and vntruelly he denied at his arraignment the trueth of his confessions, charging her Maiestie with crueltie, & her ministers with vntruethes in their proceeding against him.

But the cause that moued him thereunto, was a vaine conceite he had taken, that his case was cleere in lawe by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made & his arraignment, grounding him selfe vpon a Statute of the 13. yere of her Maiesties Reigne, in y which there are certaine treasons specified & made of that nature, that no person shalbe arraigned for any of those offences committed within anie of the Queenes Maiesties dominions, vnlesse the offender be the eof indicted within fixe moneths next after the same offence committed, & shal not be arraigned for y same, vnlesse the offence be proued by the testimonie and othe of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession

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fession without violence : wherein he was greatly deceived : For it was made manifest vnto him by the L. chiefe Iustice & other of the Iudges in Commission at his trial, that his treasons were punishable by a Statute of xxv. Edw.3. which admitted no such limitation of time or prooffe.

Hercin his skill failed him, and forgot the aduice giuen vnto him by some of the Commissioners, who (pitying his misfortune for sundrie good gifts of the minde appearing in him) assured him that there was no way so readie for him to redeeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offence, which, for a time after he had confessed his treasons, he was contented to followe, and now eftsóones after his condemnation by a new submission to the Queenes Maiestie the fourth of Iune hath resumed that course. The submission *verbatim* written with his owne hand, followeth.

To her most excellent Maiestie, cuen to her
owne Royall hands.

Most excellent Prince, and my most gracious Soueraigne,
sith to mee the most miserable of all your Maiesties
poore distressed subiects, being iustly condemned by the ordina-
rie and orderly course of your Maiesties Lawes, there resteth
no further meane of defence but submission : vouchsafe, most
excellent Prince, graciously to accept the same, which pro-
strate in all humilitie, I here present vnto the hands of your
most excellent Maiestie, beseeching the same, that as Iustice
hath bene deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine,
to the triallof mine actions : so I may receiue from the same
spring some droppe of grace and mercie for the great & grie-
uous offence whereof I rest by your Maiesties Lawes iustly
condemned : some part, I say, of that your accustomed gracious
clemencie, whereof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, &
few bene deprived. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of
unbridled

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unbridled youth hath withdrawn me from that loyall respect, which nature and duetic bounde me to owe unto your Maiestie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread soveraigne, and that the naturall care in me of the defence of my life mooved mee lately to the untrue and unduetifull gainsaying of some such pointes as had bene before by me in most humble sorte confessed: neuertheles, I most humbly beseech your most excellent Maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you holde, as also in regarde of your singular wisdom and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherewith God and nature hath plentifully indewed you) you represent unto us here in earth, it may please your Maiestie to comiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your Maiesties subiectes, and graciously to graunt unto me remission and forgiuenes, that not onely doe most humbly confesse my selfe worthe of death, but also in shewe of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted minde, doe not craue at your Maiesties handes the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stande with your gracious good pleasure, but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustly by your Maiesties lawes imposed upon mee, if the same may bee any satisfactiō to your Maiestie for the heinous crime wherof I remaine by your Maiesties lawes iustly condemned, or any mitigation of your Maiesties indignation worthily conceived against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour, and dying will wish from my heart, that my ende may bee the beginning of your Maiesties securitie, and my death the preservation of your life, and the increase both to your Maiestie, and to this your most flourishing common wealth, of all the most happie blessings of almightie God.

Your Maiesties most wofull subiect
in that he hath offended you.

Francis Throckmorton.

C. 4

He

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HE sent vnto her Maiestie together with the sayd submission, a declaration written likewise with his owne hand, contayning the effects of the most principall pointes of his treasons formerly confessed: retracting onely the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect whereof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

The declaration.

THe onely cause why I coyned the practise first by me confessed, & vniuſtly touched my father, was, for that partly I conceiued that the paper written so long ſithens, could not now by lawe haue touched me: but principally, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and hauens in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed vpon occasion of conference betweene the Spanish Ambassadour and me of this later practise.

William
Ardington.

Mine intelligence with the Scottish Queene began a little before Christmas was two yeres: the CIPHER I had from *Thomas Morgan* in Fraunce: the first letter I receiued by *Godfray Fulgeam*, by whom also came all such others as I after receiued for the most part, vnlesse it were such as came to me by *F. A.* his hands, who as hee tolde mee, receiued them of the fellowe by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I knowe not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came vnto mee in the absence of *Fulgeam*, they were inclosed vnder a couerture from *Fulgeam*, & were deliuered me by the hands of *Robert Tunstead* his brother in Law, to whom I deliuered such as I had for the Scottish Queene, couered with a directiō to *Fulgeam*, and once I remember or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottish Queene to the house of the said *Tunstead*, neere Buckstones, couered with a direction to *Tunstead*, and vnder a letter to *Fulgeam*. In such letters as came to me frō the Scottish Q. were inclosed letters to *F. A.* many times, & most times

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times some for *Thomas Morgan*. Her letters to mee cor-
tayned, &c. But before I retourned mine answere to her, I
vnderstoode of the death of the *Duke of Lenox*, and with-
all heard from *Morgan*, with whoin all mine intelligence
was (for with my brother I neuer had any, other then that
the matters by mee written to *Morgan*, were by him im-
parted to my brother most times) that by the perswasion
of the Pope and the King of Spaine, the *Duke of Guise*
had yeelded to performe the iourney in person: and that
it was thought that the next way to attayne libertie for the
Scottish Queene, and to reforme Scotlande, was to begin
here in England, and therefore he desired to knowe from
me, whether in mine opinion Catholiques would not
backe any such force as should be sent, considering a de-
maunde of tolerance in religion for them, shoul^d insue the
wel performing of the said enterprise, and what I thought
the force would amount vnto, both of horse and foote-
men, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine
answere was, that as then, I sawe no great probabilitie of
the good successe of such an enterprise, for that the Ca-
tholiques were timorous, disperfed, the matter perilous to
be communicated to many, without which I saw not how
any estimate could be made of the forces: besides, that it
was an eminent danger to the Scottish Queene, whereof
I sawe no remedie.

I tooke notice of this matter in my next letters to the
Scottish Queene, whose answere was, that shee lately
heard of that determination, &c.

Vpon my former answere to *Morgan*, he desired me, y^e
I would conferre with the Spanish Ambassadour, to who
I should bee recommended from thence: hereupon the
said Ambassadour sent for me, and brake with me in this
matter, assuring me y^e in his opinion he found it verie easie
to make great alteration here with very little force, consi-
dering the disuse in men to warre, and troubles would so
amase them (as he thought) that they would be alsoone
ouerthrowen

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ouerthrowen as assailed, and he could not thinke but in such a case Catholikes would shewe themselves, fith the purpose tended to the obteyning for them libertie of conscience: and therefore hee desired mee to acquaint him, what I thought men would doe in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holdes in these partes were easiest to be surprised.

I answered him, that as it seemed, the enterprise stood vpon great incertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, vnlesse he had founded all the Catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazarde of the discoverie of the purpose: for as for any great personage, I know no one to be drawen into this action, that could carie any more then his ordinarie retinew: the onely way in such a case was (I tolde him) for such as would bee drawen into this matter, and were of credite in their countreys, to leuie forces vnder colour of the Princes authoritie.

But for that these things depended vpon vncertaine groundes, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolved, that the force to bee sent should be of that number, that what backing soeuer they should finde here, they might be able of themselves to encounter with any force that might be provided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not bee lesse then 15000. men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much vpon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisite that it shoulde be in the Countreys best affected, and furthest from her Maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the Northern parts on either side.

To the danger of the Scottish Queene by me objected, he said he knewe no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken away by some 200. horse, which I tolde him I sawe

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not to be possible, for that I knewe not any gentleman in those partes (which were men, if any, to perfourme it) that I durst wish to bee made acquainted with the matter before hande.

Finally, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the Hauens as particularly as I could: and within fewe dayes after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferiour to that I spake of, and that there was some different betweene the Pope and the king of Spaine for the charge, I tolde him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breede a great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall warre, and by incursions so to anoy this state, as her Maiestie here shoulde be forced to yeelde the libertie of the Scottish Queene, and what should thereupon haue bene reasonably demaunded for the benefite of Catholikes here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some fewe were landed in Irelande, where, although they abid the same hazarde that the former forces sustained, yet would the charge be so great to her Maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of her forces, as a much lesse companie then was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the mindes of men generally, and be of force (if any thing) to drawe them to shewe themselues, in the furtherance of the purpose.

He vtterly reiected the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotlande: but still hee was in minde to haue forces landed here, and therefore desired me verie earnestly to inquire particularly of the Hauens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification.

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The next time that I went to the Spanish Ambassadour, he found himselfe agrieved that he vnderstood matters were determined in France without his priuitie: and told me that *Parsons* the Iesuite was gone to Rome, sent as he thought, to vnderstand the Popes minde.

Soone after came ouer my brother *Thomas*, to make an ende of our accompt, and to perswade me to come ouer, assuring mee that for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was neuer like to take effect. In the time of his being heere, and while I entertained intelligence with the Scottish Queene concerning her libertie, the Spanish Ambassadour sent for me, and tolde me of the comming ouer of *Mope* to view Suffex and the Hauens, and as he thought, to taste the best of accōpt there: whereat he seemed to bee agrieved, for that such matters had not bene left to him, beeing one that they in France made belecue that they relyed vpon principalie in this enterprise. Afterwardes, the Ambassadour tolde me, that it was *Charles Paget*, and that he was returned, but where he had bene hee knewe not, and at the same time I receiued a letter from *Morgan*, that it was *Paget*: but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the Ambassadour, that his comming was not to moue any man, but onely to viewe the countrey, for that the moouing of any man was referred to him. I did so: and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaide names and Hauens, saying that so it were done exactly by the Spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he saw no likelihoode of the execution of the enterprise.

My brother hauing made an ende of his accompt with me, retourned with this resolution betweene vs, (I protest before God,) yf the enterprise succeeded not betweene this and the next Spring nowe past, that I woulde settle my things here and goe ouer. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrey, both to sell and take order for my land in those partes, as also to fetch the draught

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draught of Gentlemē & Hauens for the most part of England, which had bene set downe by me aboute two yeres since, and left behinde me at Feckenham in my Studie.

Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I returned to London, where I founde the note of names in Secretarie hande, which I caried to the Spanish Ambassadour, and there drewe that other in Romane hande in his Studie, putting downe *Chester* to be taken, in respect of the easinesse as I thought, & the rather to giue him encouragement in the matter. I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I taried so long, making knowen vnto him, that I was had in suspicion, & my determination to be gone: but he pressed the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Whether Sir *Frauncis Englesfelde* were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (for so the Spanish Ambassadour tolde me) that Sir *Frauncis* had intelligence with the said Ambassadour all the time of his being here.

The Spanish Ambassadour tolde me that he heard the people of Northwales were generallie wel affected, and therefore he desired to haue the hauens of that countrie: I tolde him that hereafter I would helpe him thereunto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and hereupon the day before mine apprehension, the Ambassadour sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, desiring me to set downe the same at my leasure more exactly, which was the cause that it was not in my greene veluet Casket. The writings in my Casket were such as were by mee confessed, and came vnto my hands as I haue confessed.

I Most humbly beseeche her most excellent Maiestie, that the extremitie which I haue alreadie sustained, and the causes by me discovered, to the safetie of her Maiestie and the state, not made knowen (as hath appeared) by any other meane then by my selfe, may craue at her handes,

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the extending of her gracious commiseration towards the relieving of the lamentable estate of me, her Maiesties poore distressed subiect, & mine, if God for mine offences forbid not the same.

Nowe iudge all yee, that be not peruerfly affected, whether *Throckemorton* be iustly condemned, and whether his confessions (though as hee pretended, extorted from him by violence) be of force in Lawe against him: he hath conspired to ouerthrowe the state: to bring in strangersto inuade the Realme: to remoue her Maiestie from her lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the Crowne of England, and to place a stranger in her seate: but this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (perchaunce) be denyed: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise, was, they found no way how to put the Scottish Queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discovered by torture, (the onely meanes left vnto Princes to discover treasons and attemptes against their States and Persons, where they finde apparant matter to induce suspicion, as in the case of *Throckemorton*, vpon sight of the plotres of hauens &c.) may the Law touch the traitour or not? If any man holde this question negatiuely, hold him for a friend to traitours and treasons, and an enemy to the Queenes Maiestie, whome God long preserve, and confound her enemies.

FINIS.

